1:Wilson E-5(1934-1938)1951 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

ukuhalemba) and their eldest sons are his two heirs in the chief-tainship. Young girls, daughters of neighbouring chiefs, are carried off with a show of force from their fathers' houses, by the young chief's men, who themselves later contribute to the herd of cows sent to regularize the position. The two great wives are thus married not solely with the cows of their husband, but also with those of the men whose sons their sons will one day rule. The duty of arranging the match lies with the village headmen of the *old chief*, and it is said that they are often guided in their choice by dreams.

The girls who are carried off are just about to reach puberty, and they stay at the house of one of the men of the old chief until their periods begin. When both have reached puberty they are initiated, not at their fathers' houses, as are ordinary girls, but in the country of their husband, and both together. At their initiation the old men and women of the country (contemporaries of the old retiring chief) play the part normally played by a girl's parents and their neighbours, while the young chief and his men take the usual part of a husband and his friends. And then, after the ceremonies are over, the two girls are given to the young chief as his wives. Houses are built for them separately, i.e. in the senior age-village of the new chiefdom for the first wife, in the next senior village for the second wife; and in this separation of dwelling place is already apparent the future division of the chiefdom between their sons.

Within the chiefdom, and among the wives and children of the chief two 'sides' (*imihafu*) are recognized. Usually, in each country there are, at its beginning, at least two age-villages and half the wives of the chief on either side. This distinction of two sides is important in succession, a son from each side eventually inheriting half the country.

From the time of the 'coming out' of the two young chiefs till the day of their own father's death there exists between him and them a delicate balance of prestige and power. Each of the three, traditionally, has judicial authority in his own age-villages, but appeals in difficult cases may be taken from either of the young chiefs and their village headmen to the old chief and his village headmen, while the religious duties of chieftainship are exercised entirely by the old chief. But in the old days it was the young chief who fought and led men. 'Young chiefs used to lead their

7: Sandawana 1-6 (ca. 1910) 1913 FN17 Ngwada FN17

his wife is called *ndani*, like the wife of a "brother," not *ntagbo*. This appears to be the result of the law that a man may have to marry his "grandmothers." (See para. 5.)

Similarly a woman calls her "grandsons" *ndani*, and his wife *ntani* reciprocally.

No distinction is made between the offspring of a "son" and that of a "daughter," either by a man or a woman.

"Grand-daughters" by marriage are not called *ntani* by a man, nor are "grandsons" by marriage called *ndani* by a woman: the term *nwimdala* reciprocal is used in either case. It is of interest to note, however, that the wives and husbands of these relations are called *ntani* and *ndani* respectively, which is evidently a relic of the period when the whole tribe was divided into two classes, marriageable and unmarriageable: since a "grandchild" by marriage belonged to the latter class, his or her spouse must be included in the former.

(5) All "grandmothers" are termed *ntani*, except perhaps the sisters of the personal grandfather; some say that these should be classed as "sisters," or the sister of one's marriage (grandfather), because *ndani* would not be polite to the marriage of one's father. Others deny this and include all grandmothers as *ntani*, and it is doubtful whether the objection is not modern. The same applies to the "grandmothers" of a wife.

A man often has to marry his "grandmothers" on the death of his "grandfather," though if the latter were a child or a sick man the heir would probably marry them as part of the property. The rule appears to be that it is the duty of any man to marry his "grandmothers" if they are destitute.

A woman calls all her "grandfathers" *ndani*, though actual marriage is not permitted. It is difficult to say whether this is due to analogy with the relationship of a man to his "grandmother," or is the corollary of that to his "grand-daughter." Since marriage with a "grand-daughter" is not uncommon in other tribes, it may be that it was originally the reason for a woman calling her grandfather *ndani* among the Wangonde, but that the persistence of the terminology after such a marriage came to be regarded as incorrect is partly due to analogy.

As a result of the similarity of relationship between grandparents and grandchildren the same term *nwimdala* is used for both. There was formerly a special term for grandparents (*mbupa*), but it is now obsolete.

(6) The relationship between mother's "brother" and "sister's" son is peculiar, in that the term is used reciprocally (*mwipwa*). A man calls the wife of his